Workers' Dreadnought

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COMMEMORATING THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION.

THREE YEARS OF SOVIET PUBLIC ECONOMY.

By J. LARIN.

The Revolution of the Russian Proletariat is no longer a newcomer in old Europe. It has become a constant factor in the life of the world, a factor whose influence is growing stronger and is more than ever in a position to shake to their foundations the mainstays of bourgeois rule. Comparing the end of the first year of our revolution with the end of the second or of the third, we find that the Soviet State founded in November, 1918, by the Russian proletariat is the only rapidly growing power among all the states of the old world. In the autumn of 1918, Soviet Russia was enclosed within the limits of the Moscow territory, with 20,000 versts of railways and 50,000,000 people. In the autumn of 1919 it was strengthened by the re-conquest of the Ural, of the trans-Volga districts, and of the Ukraine. Now, in the autumn of 1920, Soviet Russia embraces almost the whole of the Caucasus, Siberia, Turkestan, and White Russia. The young Soviet Government is now in fact one of the powers that determine the course of world politics. The Red Flag of the Soviet Republic waves over one tenth of the globe. This rapid increase of the weight of the Soviet Republic in the scales of the world, as compared with the old bourgeois and landlord-ridden states, serves as a symbol of the historical rise of the proletariat and of the imminent fall of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois Hopes.

Bourgeois Europe has for a long time been consoling itself, and is consoling itself even now, with the thought that the downfall of Soviet Russia is inevitable in spite of its accession of territorial strength and the consequent increase of material resources. Capitalist public opinion considers the downfall of Soviet Russia as inevitable because, according to it, power in the hands of the workers must reduce itself to unwillingness to work and incapacity to organise work; in short, must lead to such a state that the country will be obliged to live upon old and rapidly depleting stocks of supplies until the inevitable collapse amidst general starvation, embitterment, pogroms, barbarism and mutual hatred. The Soviet Government may stand the military and political test, but it will inevitably perish on the economic field—that is the capitalist verdict. The rule of capital would then be re-established, the landlord's whip would again play havoc with the peasants' backs, and the bodies of the workers would dangle from the lamp-posts.

Problem of Production.

The problems of labour, the problems of organising the reproduction of all that the country consumes and must consume, are indeed fundamental, and the old stocks would not take us far. In this the bourgeoisie is perfectly right. If the victory of the proletariat is equivalent to the victory of indolence, of technical decline, of economic disorganisation, then goodbye to Soviet economy. A temporary fall in production, due to some external cause that may be removed, is not terrible. If, however, organic vice exists in the very heart of the system, then no old stocks, however large, will be of any avail to save the country; and in Russia such old stocks have been comparatively small. It is therefore necessary to determine whether the fall in production is due to the very nature of the established system or is the outcome of some removable external cause. It is also necessary to ascertain the pace at which the disappearance of such a cause is progressing.

Question of Output.

The first fundamental pre-requisite — the general volume of productive labour—has undoubtedly declined in Russia as compared with the pre-war period, up to 1915. Equally, there has been a decline in the output. Taking the output of our entire industry, we find that in 1919—1920 the average output of every worker per annum has not been more than 45 per cent. of his output before the war. This, however, has been the result of two kinds of influences. During the four years preceding the revolution, 1913—1916, the factories and works never stopped for lack of raw material or fuel. In 1919—1920, however, there were on the average 68 lost working days per worker per annum due to lack of such raw material and fuel (metal ore, oil, coal, cotton, wool, hides, etc.) which were either entirely, or to a large extent, centred in the Southern and Eastern outlying borders of the former Russian Empire, and for 3 years were cut off from Soviet Russia by the counter-revolution. Before the war there was on an average a loss of seven and a half days per worker in every year, whereas in 1920 this average reached 19 days—an increase which must be ascribed wholly to the war, to the counter-revolution and to the blockade, which have created in Russia a famine in medicines, fuel and provisions. It is really surprising that the number of cases of disease was not more than two and a half times the normal, in spite of the terrible winter of 1919—1920, when in the large industrial centres there was almost no fuel and no possibility of procuring medicine, and the health of the workers was undermined by insufficient feeding.

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Eight-Hours Day.

Under normal pre-war conditions the loss of time due to reasons other than those indicated above amounted to 16½ working days per annum per worker, whereas in 1920 it was increased to 35½. The main cause of such loss of time was the departure of the workers into the country and to the "free markets" in search of food to be obtained in exchange for household utensils, etc. Whilst this loss is to be ascribed to the defective State machinery of supply, it is nevertheless compensated for by other measures taken by the government of the workers in the early days of its existence. The very decree which shortened the working day to eight hours (instead of the average 9.7 hours which obtained in all the factories and works in 1913, the last year of peace) at the same time reduced the number of holidays (the holidays in honour of the family of the Czar, as well as a number of religious holidays, were abolished). In consequence of this, the normal number of working days in the year was raised by the Soviet Government to three hundred, as against the 264 obtaining in 1913. (It is to be noted that the number of lost days for reasons other than illness is, say, 35½, which is just the number by which the normal number of working days was increased.) Apart from this, the proletariat, the free triumphant class, has shrunk neither from lengthening the labour day nor from introducing work during holidays at the time when the struggle with the counter-revolution demanded additional effort. The average length of the working day in 1918 was eight hours; at the end of 1919 it was already 8.3 hours; and in the first quarter of 1920 it reached even 8.6 hours. The number of holidays on which work was being done exceeded, in 1920, by eleven days the number of days allowed by the law for annual holidays. The general number of hours, during which the average worker has been employed during the past year, represents, in consequence of all the changes indicated above, 70 per cent. of the number worked in 1913. This approximately corresponds to the loss of time due to the stoppage of factories and works on account of lack of raw material and fuel, and to loss of time on account of illness (particularly chronic were the typhus epidemics). Thus, the assertions of the hirelings of the European bourgeoisie, that the shrinkage in the volume of work in Russia is due to laziness on the part of the workers consequent upon their seizure of power, stand in glaring contradiction to the experience of the last three years, which, on the contrary, shows that the volume of work is gradually increasing.

War Decreases Production.

In Russia, as well as in the rest of Europe, the productivity of the average worker has declined under the influence of the war. The worker works not only less hours in the year, but he produces less in each hour that he works. In 1919 the average output per hour represented only two-thirds of the same output in peace time. In this respect two causes were decisive: first, on account of the military mobilisations the personnel of the workers was changed, and second, in consequence of the ring formed round Russia by the counter-revolutionaries, cutting off the industrial centres from the coal-producing regions, the economic organisation of industry was destroyed.

(Continued in our next issue).

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

- - - - - - SPECIAL SOVIET RUSSIA NUMBER. - - - - - - -

IN PRAISE OF LENIN.

By MAXIM GORKI.

Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin appears to me a source of energy so powerful that without his dynamic influence the Russian Revolution could not have taken the form it actually has taken. I say this in spite of my belief in a theory of human history which assigns to the individual an insignificant role in the great process of cultural development.

To Lenin's will, history has given the terrible task of digging up from the bottom this desultory, misbuilt, slothful semi-human ant-hill which we call Russia. But to me it seems that the significance of Lenin as the initiator of social change in Russia is of less moment than his importance as a world-revolutionary. The terrific energy of his will, the impact of which is re-moulding Russia, goes farther; it is a tireless battering-ram under whose blows the monumental architecture of the capitalist states of the West, and the ancient piles of those execrable despotic empires of the East, are already staggering to their downfall.

When I Opposed Lenin.

I think now, as I thought two years ago, when I opposed Lenin, that to him Russia is only the first material to hand in a gigantic social experiment conceived on a planetary scale. In the face of this idea I was overwhelmed by a sentiment of pity for the Russian people, the victims as it seemed to me of this experiment, and I was indignant against the experimenter. But since then, observing the course of events in the Russian Revolution, seeing its revolutionary effects broaden and deepen, I have realised that it is actually awakening and organising more and more effectively such forces as are really capable of destroying the foundations of capitalism. I now feel that if Russia is destined to serve as an object of social experiment, it would be wrong to blame the man whose endeavour it is to hasten the progress of this social experiment by transforming the potential energy of the working masses of Russia into effective, kinetic energy.

I have no intention of writing a discourse in defence or justification of Lenin. That is not necessary either to him or to me. But I know him a little. Mistakes—if it is necessary to speak of them—are not crimes. The mistakes of Lenin are the mistakes of an honest man, and the world has yet to see an infallible reformer. But those who oppose and condemn Lenin, the Lloyd Georges and the Clemenceaus and their followers, are infallible in their own role of criminals and assassins; they are condemning a whole people to the torments of hunger and cold, by supporting the continuation of an insane civil war. Yes, insane—for aside from the Bolsheviks there are no parties in Russia able to take the powers of government into their own hands, able to awaken the forces of the exhausted country, able to call out and use the energy indispensable for productive labour.

In considering Lenin I put aside my personal affection for the man and consider him as a human being under my observation, a phenomenon interesting to me as a writer describing the life of my own country.

My Personal Affection for Him.

I see him making a speech at a meeting of workers. He uses extremely simple terms; he speaks with a tongue of iron, with the logic of an axe; but in his rude words I have never heard any vulgar demagogism, nor any banal seeking after the beautiful phrase. He always speaks of the same thing: of the necessity of destroying to the root the social inequalities of men, and the means of accomplishing the task. The ancient truth resounds upon his lips with a sound harsh, implacable: one feels always that he believes unshakably in it: one feels how calm is his faith—the faith of a fanatic, but of a fanatic-scientist, and not of a metaphysician or a mystic.

It seems to me that what is individual interests him hardly at all; he thinks only of parties, of masses, of states. And in dealing with these he has the gift of foresight, the intuitive genius of the experiment-thinker. He possesses that happy clarity of thought which is attained only by means of intensive and constant intellectual labour.

A Thinking Guillotine.

A Frenchman asked me one day: "Do you not find that Lenin is a thinking guillotine?"

For my part, I would compare the work of his thought to the blows of a hammer endowed with vision, shattering and destroying precisely those things which for so long have needed to be destroyed.

To the petty bourgeois of all countries, Lenin must naturally appear as an Atilla come to destroy the Rome of their prosperity and comfort. Their comfort, founded as it is on slavery, blood and pillage, is indeed in danger. But just as ancient Rome deserved to fall, so the crimes of the contemporary regime justify the necessity of its destruction. It is a historic necessity; no thing and no person can avoid it. We hear from high places the plea of the value of European culture and the necessity of defending it against the invasion of the New Hun. Such sentiments when uttered by a revolutionary have sincerity and value. But upon the lips of the organisers and accomplices of the shameful massacre of 1914-1918 they are heartless hypocrisy.

As for the development of culture, if we understand this to mean the progressive development of art, of science, of technique, and of the humanisation of the beings who are contemporary with this development, such a process cannot be retarded by the new fact that not only tens of thousands of individuals, but vast masses of many millions will take an active part in the cultural task.

Sometimes that audacity of imagination necessary to a man of letters puts before me this question: "How does Lenin visualise the new world?" And before me there unrolls the splendid picture of the earth become a gigantic jewel, faceted with beautiful evidences of the labour of a free humanity. In this new world all men are reasonable, and each has the feeling of personal responsibility for all that is done by him and around him. Everywhere city gardens enclose majestic palaces. Everywhere the forces of nature, conquered and organised by man, work for him. And man himself has become—at last—the real master of the world. No longer is his physical energy lost in a coarse and filthy labour, it is transformed into spiritual energy—and all this power is consecrated to the struggle with the fundamental problems of life, to the solution of which his thought has vainly devoted itself for so many centuries. Vainly, for it was shattered in the social struggle which it was helpless to explain, it was exhausted by the inexorable conflict of irreconcilable principles.

Fearless Human Reason.

More noble in technique, more socially just, man's work in this future world has become a joy. Man's reason, the most precious thing in the world, being set free, has become fearless.

I do not think that I have here imputed to Lenin a dream which is alien to his mind. I do not think that I "romanticise" this man. I cannot represent him to myself without this superb vision of the future happiness of all mankind, of a life become bright and joyous. The greater the man, the bolder his dream. Lenin is more a man than any other of our contemporaries. And although his thoughts are obviously occupied in the main with political problems which romantic minds would describe as "narrowly practical," I am persuaded that in his rare moments of release this militant spirit allows himself to be carried in thought far away towards a future of beauty, where he sees much more than I myself can imagine.

The fundamental purpose of all Lenin's life is the happiness of humanity. And for that reason he must have glimpses into the distance of the age to come, of the end of this magnificent process, to the unfolding of which he has consecrated all his energies with the courage of an ascetic. He is an idealist, if one understands by that the devotion of all the forces of one's nature to a single idea—the idea of world-wide human happiness. His private life is such that in an epoch of great religious faith we would have regarded Lenin as a saint.

I know that this statement will put the petty bourgeoisie in a fury. Also, many of the comrades will make fun of me, and Lenin himself will greet my statement with a joyous burst of laughter. Saint! That is indeed a paradoxical and comic term, applied to a man *for whom*, as the old man-of-God, the ex-revolutionary N. Tschaikovsky, said, *absolutely nothing is holy*. A saint, Lenin, whom the chief of the English conservatives, Mr. Churchill, a man of the best British education and the highest British culture, considers "the most ferocious and the most execrable of men!"

A Legendary Figure.

Although himself a severe realist, Lenin is becoming little by little a legendary figure. And that is well.

From the far-off villages of India, coming hundreds of miles over mountain paths and through forests, hiding, risking their lives, there arrive at Caboul, at the Russian Soviet Embassy, Hindus representing the millions crushed under the ancient yoke of British officialdom. They arrive and ask:

"Who is Lenin?"

And at the other end of the world we hear Norwegian labourers say:

"Lenin is the honest lad. There has never been his equal on earth."

I say it is well. The great majority of men have an absolute need of personal faith to enable them to begin to act. It would be long to wait until they began of themselves to think and act, without such assistance; and during that time the evil genius of capitalism would crush them more and more with misery, alcoholism, and the stupor of weariness.

It seems to me necessary to note also that Lenin is not exempt from the sentiments of friendship, and that in general nothing that is human is alien to him. I feel a little embarrassed and ridiculous in mentioning this; but the petty bourgeoisie of the whole world are so frightened at Lenin's inhuman intellectuality—and Mr. Churchill, with his gaze fixed anxiously on the Orient, rages so furiously that one fears he will do injury to his health—and as I have a tender heart, I feel obliged to give some slight reassurances to these frightened and furious people.

It sometimes happens that Lenin judges the virtues of people too much in their own favour, and to the detriment of the cause. But his unfavourable judgments—even those which seem at first without foundation—are almost always confirmed utterly by the conduct of these people. This perhaps proves that Lenin senses the faults of men better than their virtues; but also that in general there are many more harmful than useful men.

Audacity as Social Reformer.

It must be understood that one could say of him as an individual many more things than what is said here. But the modesty of this man, so completely devoid of ambition, embarrasses me. I know that the little I have said will appear to him superfluous, exaggerated and ridiculous. All right. Let him laugh, as he knows so well how to do. But I hope that many people will read these lines not without profit to themselves.

In these lines I have discussed a man who has had the audacity to begin the process of European social revolution in a country where a vast number of peasants wish to become well-fed property-holders, and nothing more. Many regard this audacity of Lenin's as madness. I began my work as an instigator of the revolutionary spirit with a hymn to the madness of the brave. There was a time when a natural pity for the Russian people compelled me to consider this madness as almost a crime. But now when I see that these people know much better how to suffer in patience than to work consciously and honestly, I sing anew my hymn to the sacred madness of the brave. And among them Vladimir Lenin is the first and the maddest.

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The Communist Movement Among the Russian Youth.

By RYVKIN.

The mass movement among the young Russian workers did not begin until after the March Revolution.

Doubtless before the Revolution, when the Socialist parties of Russia were working underground, there were Young Socialist revolutionary circles aiming at self-culture and at the diffusion of Socialist ideas among the workers. But, in the first place, the members of these circles were almost exclusively the young people at the schools; and, in the second place, under the Tsarist regime it was impossible that the stirring of the Socialist youth should assume the character of a mass movement.

Petrograd Begins.

Immediately after the March Revolution, the young industrial workers of Petrograd began to organise. The usual course of events was the following. In each factory, a general meeting of the younger workers was called, and this gathering elected a committee. What were the determining causes in the formation of these committees? First of all, there was the example of their elders, who, after the Revolution, set vigorously to work, founding various proletarian organisations (parties, groups, clubs, co-operatives, etc.). The second determining cause was that intolerable conditions prevailed, as far as the young workers were concerned, in the factories and the workshops, which were then under military discipline. Delegates from the young workers' groups were sent to the factory and workshop committees, defending there the interests of the juvenile workers. From the outset this was a mass movement. In May, an attempt was made to fuse into a single organisation, all the young workers' groups of Petrograd. Owing, however, to outside influence of a pernicious character, the organithus created lacked cohesion, was non-political in its aims, and was "above class." It was named Work and Light, was led by a representative of petty bourgeois intellectualist liberalism, and endeavoured to guide the whole Young Socialist movement. It naturally failed to fulfil this aim, and it fell to pieces after a brief existence of two or three months, succumbing to the onslaughts of the young workers of a Radical trend. These latter, the Bolsheviks, founded in June, a Socialist League of Young Workers, whose aims were, to develop class consciousness in the young workers, and "to spread in these circles the idea of revolutionary Socialism." In August, 1917, at the first conference of all the young workers in Petrograd, this league was declared to be the only genuine organisation of the Young Workers of Petrograd.

Moscow Follows Suit.

During the summer of 1917, a Young Workers' organisation came into existence in Moscow. It differed somewhat from the Petrograd union. It was formed as an offshoot of the Moscow committee of the Russian Social Democratic (Bolshevik) Party, and had, at the outset, a narrow outlook. It lacked the traits proper to a mass movement. But at the sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, held in August, 1917, a resolution concerning the Young Socialist movement was passed. This resolution recognised the need for the creation of self-governing organisations among the younger workers, organisations whose ties with the party should be moral merely, and which should be influenced by the party only in the realm of ideas. The young workers of Moscow were now reorganised on these lines, and the body which had been an offshoot of the Moscow committee of the Social Democratic Party, became The Young Workers of the Third International, an organisation established upon and working in accordance with the principles adopted by the Socialist League of Young Workers in Petrograd. A detailed account has been given of these Petrograd and Moscow organisations for the reason that they were the archetypes of the provincial Young Socialist organisations. In some regions the unions, like that of Petrograd, sprang instinctively to life, being the outcome of a spontaneous impulse towards organisation in the mass of young workers; in other regions, just as in Moscow, the unions were offshoots from the party committees, and functioned at first within the framework of the party.

Acute Class Struggle.

The acuteness of the class struggle in Russia and the headlong progress of the Revolution, which, starting as a bourgeois revolution soon became a proletarian revolution, monopolised the attention of the class-conscious young workers, and this interfered with the methodical progress of the Young Socialist movement. Organisations of working-class youth sprang up in various Russian towns, and set to work independently, without connecting links. Nevertheless, as has already been explained, Petrograd and Moscow served, to some extent, to centralise their activities. Politicaly regarded, the Young Workers' movement in Russia from the first took Bolshevism for its watchword. This is easy to understand. It was impossible that the Young Workers should be satisfied with the nerveless, cowardly, and compromising tactics of the Right and the Centre. Essentially revolutionary, full of life and vigour, eager for the fray, the Young workers were naturally ready to adopt the purely revolutionary class tactics of the Bolsheviks. The persecution of the Bolsheviks by the bourgeoisie and the attacks made by the bourgeoisie upon the real working-class party, naturally endeared the latter to the Young Workers. In August, 1917, at the time when the bourgeois and opportunist campaign against the Bolsheviks was in full swing, when the bourgeois-Socialist democrats were in power, and when the party of the revolutionary workers seemed to have been defeated, the Young Workers of Petrograd, in their first general conference, sent their most cordial greetings to Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotski, and Lunacharski, the leaders of the persecuted party, who were then in hiding. Simultaneously, the Young Socialists sent a defiance to the Mensheviks and the Essers, traitors to the revolution. In Moscow, as explained above, the Young Socialist organisations came into existence as an offshoot of the Bolshevik committee of Moscow, and took an active part in the work of the Bolshevik Party. It was the same in the provinces. Everywhere the Young Workers joined hands with the Revolutionary Party of the proletariat, joined forces with the Bolsheviks.

Learning to Act.

Most of the Russian organisations of Young Workers are completely independent. This has both good and bad sides. The advantage is that the young folk learn to act for themselves. The disadvantage is that they have to get on as best they may without assistance, and the whole movement suffers from this lack of aid. The Bolshevik Party had its energies fully occupied in the political struggle and in solving general problems of organisation, so that, notwithstanding the before-mentioned resolution of the sixth Congress, the Party gave no effective support to the Young Workers' movement.

After the November Revolution, the movement of working-class youth gathered fresh strength. In January, 1918, there were six thousand members in the Petrograd Socialist League of Young Workers. This league had its clubs, its branches, its factory and workshop centres. The young peasants were now beginning to participate in the movement. Socialist leagues of young peasants were springing up in the villages, the chief aims of these bodies being educational and cultural. In the various administrative districts, congresses and conferences of the Young Workers were now being held, and the municipal and rural organisations were undergoing fusion in each administrative district.

In Uralsk and Petrograd there were larger fusions, involving several administrative districts.

Need for Unity.

As the movement spread, the need for unity was increasingly felt. But unity was rendered difficult by the arduous conditions of life in the first Soviet Republic that had ever existed. At length, in October, 1918, more than a year and a half after the birth of the movement, the first all-Russian Congress of Young Workers and Peasants met in Moscow. It was summoned by the Moscow and Petrograd organisations, and sat for a week, from October 29th to November 4th. There were two hundred delegates present, representing 21,000 members of various organisations. The most important upshot of the Congress was the formation of a single Russian Communist League of Youth, able to centralise activities throughout Russia.

The Congress led to further advances, and the Bolshevik Party began to treat the movement more seriously. In a number of local party congresses, resolutions were carried promising support to the union. At length, in March, 1919, the eighth Congress of the Bolshevik Party declared that the leagues of youth were doing work of exceptional importance, proclaimed the existence of the Russian Communist League of Youth to be useful and necessary, and determined to assist the league in every possible way.

At the present time, there are affiliated to the league fifteen hundred organisations representing, in all, from 80,000 to 90,000 members. The chief organisations of administrative districts are those of Moscow, Vladimir, and Viatka. Affiliated to that of Vladimir are one hundred and sixty-three groups; and affiliated to that of Viatka are one hundred and twenty groups. Among the urban organisations, that of Petrograd is the most efficient. It has about 6,000 members and consists of fourteen branches with clubs, meeting-houses, etc.

In twenty-one administrative districts, there are executive committees elected by local congresses. In twelve administrative districts the work is centralised in the hands of special committees appointed by the district or urban organisations. There are numerous smaller fusions of branches.

The Young Workers' movement makes vigorous progress in the freed regions of Uralsk and Siberia, but details are lacking as to the precise number of organisations now existing in these parts. Unions of Young Workers are likewise found in the Soviet Republics of the frontier regions that used to form part of Russia. There are such organisations in Ukraine, Livonia, Lithuania, and White Russia. In all these Republics, Congresses have been held for the fusion of the Young Workers' organisations. The Communist League of Young Workers of Ukraine, formed at the Kiev Congress in the beginning of July, has more than 10,000 members. These leagues are to-day engaged in an underground propaganda on behalf of the Communist ideal. Since the foreign occupation, the Ukrainian League has carried on active propaganda among the soldiers of Germany and subsequently among those of France and Britain. All these unions (that of Livonia excepted) are affiliated to a single whole, the Russian Communist League of Youth; their central committees are really district committees of that body.

Sixteen Periodicals Educating outh.

In addition to the central organ of the League, the *Young Communist*, published in Moscow, there are fifteen other periodicals to voice the aspirations of the young movement. The oldest of these, and the one which appears most regularly, is the *Young Proletarian*, the organ of the Petrograd League.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of paper and the other difficulties of production, prevent a vigorous growth of the Young Workers' press. Of late, the Party organs have begun to publish a "Page of Youth" at frequent intervals. Taking Russia as a whole, there are more than thirty such issues. The central committee of the Communist League of Youth has now regularly at its disposal three pages a week: one in *Pravda*, the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, one in *Byednost*, the provincial organ of the Party; and one in *Rosta*, the bulletin of the Russian telegraph service.

The age limits for members of the Young Workers' organisations are from 14 to 28. The age of most of the members ranges from 15 to 20. Recently the League has been reinforced by the adhesion of the newly founded Communist organisations of scholastic youth. But the Communist movement at the schools is comparatively feeble, so that the representation from these quarters is small. The enormous majority of the members of the League is made up of young workers and peasants. The mutual relationships between the League and the Bolshevik Party are as follows: The union accepts the program and tactics of the party, but works as a self-governing organisation under the supervision of the party committees, central and local. The central organism of the League is subordinated to that of the party; the local organisations are merely supervised by the party. The League and the Party help one another in their work. Up to the age of twenty, all members of the Party must belong to the League and must participate actively in its labours. The peoples' commissariat for public instruction supports the League financially. The Workers' and Peasants' Government gives of its best to the Young Workers. The limits of space imposed on this article make it impossible for the writer to furnish details as to the work of the League. Suffice it is to say that hundreds and thousands of young workers and peasants have been trained in its ranks and have awakened there to an understanding of Communism. Many of them have fallen fighting for the Soviet Republic; many are still under arms on the various fronts; the others are working in the Soviets and Party organisations.

Sending Forth New Fighters.

All the incidents of revolutionary life speedily react on the League, which continues incessantly to supply new relays of young fighters for Communism.

Since its inception, the Russian Young Workers' movement has looked upon itself as part of the International Young Workers' movement. The first Conference of Young Workers, held at Petrograd in August, 1917 announced the affiliation of the League to the the Young Workers' International. In October, 1918, the Moscow organisation promptly responded to the appeal (delayed in transmission), from the International Bureau of Young Workers, anent the organisation of a "Young Workers' Day" of protest against the war. A demonstration of several thousand workers was organised, as well as a meeting of Young Workers, to manifest the unity and vigour of the Young Workers' movement

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Miss Tighe	0	2	0
Sir D. M. Stevenson	1	0	0
E.J.M. and A.J.M.	0	5	0
Per Mr. Machin	2	0	0
National Union General Workers (Willesden Branch)	0	4	0
Per F. Collins (Labour College)	0	5	0
Mrs. Garnett	2	0	0
E. Wright	0	2	5
	16	12	8
Brought forward	75	1	6
Total	91	14	2

COMMUNIST UNITY.

For the purpose of arranging for a unity convention to amalgamate existing Communist parties and groups in Great Britain, a preliminary conference is to be held at Manchester on Saturday next.

Invitations have been sent to the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Communist Labour Party, Communist Party, Socialist Labour Party, National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee, the Scottish Workers' Committee, and the Left Wing Group of the I.L.P.

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THE I.L.P. LEFT WING NOT READY FOR MOSCOW YET.

The I.L.P. Left Wing is supposed to be the thin edge of the wedge which is to force the Party of Macdonald and Snowden to go to Moscow.

But the Left Wing is not itself yet ready to join the Third International. It is still sitting on the fence and trying to retain the doubting lukewarm elements.

It declares for "Industrial and Social Councils," the constitution of which is not quite clear, as the Communist form of administration. We hope this means the Soviets, though we regret that the I.L.P. Left Wing should funk the foreign word. How insular some people are still in these days of Internationalism, of which I.L.P.-ers, both Left and Right, prate so much.

But we will not quibble or dispute over anything that may be trifling: what we really find impossible as Communists to swallow is the assertion (we quote the *Daily Herald* report)

> "that the use of Parliamentary institutions is advocated by the I.L.P. Left Wing" for the "formal endorsement of measures put forward by the workers' organisations for the destruction of capitalism."

That seems a highly dangerous suggestion. Suppose the parliamentary institution refuses its endorsement: what is to happen then? Will the I.L.P. postpone the revolution till the next general election in the hope of electing a few more Communists in order to get the endorsement? Revolutions, Messrs. of the I.L.P., are not made to order—supposing the wave of popular impetus is towards revolution.

An institution which exists for formally endorsing measures put forward by another body is pretty sure to refuse endorsement from time to time: what then? Would the I.L.P. proceed without endorsement?

In that case, why not decide to sweep away parliamentary institutions altogether.

Until the Left Wing of the I.L.P. has made up its mind to plump for the Soviets and work for the complete abolition of Parliament, it will not be ready to join the Third International.

THE I.L.P. LEFT WING.

The following is the programme of the I.L.P. Left Wing:—

1. *Object.* The I.L.P. is a Communist organisation, whose aim is to destroy the present Capitalist system, which is based upon private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and to establish in its place communal control through an industrial and social administrative organisation of the working class. This form of ownership, once established, would bring into harmony the form of ownership with the form of production.

2. *Communist Administration.* Administration will be by Industrial and Social Councils (local and national), which will mean administration by the workers engaged therein—manual and technical. This implies organisation of all workers within the nation, grouped according to their respective industrial and social sections, sub-sections, and local organisation of sub-sections. Furthermore, this form of administrative control, unlike that of bourgeois democracy, will enable the organised workers to recall their delegates whenever desirable.

3. *Transition Period.* The necessary condition for the Social Revolution is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that is, the conquest by the proletariat of a political power that will allow it to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is therefore an organisation of a proletarian State and a form of administration of State affairs which, in the transition stage from Capitalism to Socialism, will allow the Proletariat, as a ruling class, to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters to the work of Socialist reconstruction.

4. *Immediate Demands.* The experience of the last generation of political activity has shown plainly that advocacy ofr eformism, i.e. palliatives, has tended to obscure the Socialist objective of our party and to deflect the efforts of our members and the energies of the working-class from the struggle against Capitalism, and has afforded the governing classes andt heir special pleaders opportunity after opportunity of obscuring the revolutionary issue and placating discontent by affecting to grant immediate and "practical demands." The I.L.P., therefore, declares for an unceasing and relentless attack upon Capitalism and the Capitalist State; urges the workers to concentrate primarily upon the strengthening of their industrial and co-operative organisations, thus to afford to their political action that irresistible force which will cause the governing classes continually to throw out sops and make concessions which will but whet the appetite of the workers and give them confidence in their power as a class. Furthermore, the I.L.P. includes within the scope of political action the use of parliamentary institutions for propaganda and also for the formal endorsement of the measures put forward by the workers' organisations for the destruction of Capitalism and the demolition of the Capitalist State.

5. *International.* Realising that modern wars are the outcome of the development of Capitalism, which compels it to seek fresh markets for the ever-increasing surplus of production due to the ever-increasing exploitation of natural resources and human energy, the I.L.P. believes that it is incumbent upon Socialists to destroy Capitalist Imperialism, and so render war impossible; it therefore aims at the fullest development of the international working-class movement as a means to destroy International Capitalism, by which alone war can be rendered impracticable, and, in view of this, seeks immediate affiliation to the Third or Communist International of Moscow—the International of action, and not of phrases.

6. *Method.* Realising that Capitalist Parliamentary Institutions, local and national, are simply executive committees of the Capitalist Class, and that election thereto on the territorial basis is only suitable for bourgeois democracy, and at variance with representation according to our conception of a Labour Democracy, which, once established, implies that Labour deputies, being connected with a definite industrial or social organisation, are therefore at all times under the control and influence of the section to which they belong, the I.L.P. asserts that the best means of effecting a Social Revolution is for the organised workers to prepare themselves to take over the industrial machine, and therefore it determines to take its part in the Class Struggle to destroy the economic tyranny imposed by the Capitalist Class and the Capitalist State, emphasising at the same time that the only useful purpose in participating in parliamentary action is solely with a view to promoting revolutionary propaganda, and the destruction of Capitalism and the Class State.

PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS.

[From the Thesis presented to the Second World Congress of the Communist International (Petrograd—Moscow), July, 1920.]

The opposition to the Communists entering the bourgeois parliaments is sustained mostly by the remembrance of Social Democratic parliamentarism during the epoch of the Second International. The conduct of the majority of the Social Democratic members in the bourgeois parliament was really so unprincipled and frequently treacherous, that this bitter experience cannot be forgotten by the working class.

That is why it is necessary for the Communist International, which has in the interests of the revolution advocated the utilisation of the parliamentary tribune by the Communists, to observe very strictly the activity of the Communist members and to take all measures to create a new type of revolutionary parliamentarian—Communist warrior.

To this end it is necessary that:

1. The Communist Party in general and its Central Committee should during the preparatory stage, before the parliamentary elections—inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary factions. The Central Committees should be responsible for the parliamentary faction of Communists. The Central Committee shall have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organisation, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy when in parliament.

The Communist Parties must desist from the old Social Democratic habit of electing as delegates only the so-called "experienced" parliamentarians, chiefly lawyers and so on. As a rule workmen should be put forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that they may sometimes be simple rank-and-file workmen without much parliamentary experience. The Communist Party must treat with merciless contempt all elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before the elections in order to get into parliament. The Central Committees of Communist Parties must sanction the candidature of only such men who by long years of work have proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2. When the elections are over, the organisations of the parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a lawful one at the given moment. The chairman and president of the parliamentary faction of Communists must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary faction with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary faction shall ask for preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in the parliament the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the theses of his speech or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate entered in the list of the Communists, must sign a paper to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party, he shall be bound to give up his mandate, so that the party might obtain re-elections.

3. In countries where reformist, semi-reformist or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary faction of the Communists (as this has already happened in several places) the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound to radically weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist faction, than a numerous one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4. A Communist delegate by decision of the Central Committee is bound to combine lawful work with illegal work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilised by way of rendering assistance to the illegal organisation and for the propaganda of the Party.

5. The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside the parliament. The regular proposal of demonstrative law-projects, not for them to be passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purposes of propaganda, agitation and organisation, must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labour demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements, the Communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist members must enter into relations (under the control of the Party), either by writing or otherwise, with the revolutionary workmen, peasants and other workers, and not resemble in this respect the Social Democratic members, who try to enter into business relations with their constituents.

8. Each Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator," who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the dispersed mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or illegal.

9. The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman, and shepherd; so that the Party might publish his speeches on sheets of paper and spread them in the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank and file worker Communists must not be shy of speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need the workmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech might be printed afterwards in the papers or on sheets.

11. The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers on, but also for the denunciation of the social-patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and for the propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist delegates, even though there should be only one or two of them in the parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only such are worthy of the name of Communists—who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkeys.

The Russian Trade Union Movement.

By M. TOMSKI.
(President of the Central National Trade Union] Soviet).

The trade union movement in Russia originated from the Revolution of 1905. Temporarily checked by the reaction during the years 1908 to 1910, the movement took on a fresh impetus in 1911, to be arrested once more by the patriotic and militarist reaction of 1914 to 1916. By March, 1917, when the revolution that overthrew Tsardom occurred, there were in existence no more than a few feeble labour organisations. These trade unions were all "extremely well-behaved from the political point of view." Their membership was numbered by tens. Even the largest of them had no more than a few hundred members.

Thus coming into into existence in a stormy epoch, in a country absolutely devoid of social life, and where the working-class invironment was utterly unprepared for the discipline of organisation, the chief aim of the trade unions was to increase their membership so that the workers might become accustomed to the discipline of organisation and to self-government, and might be able to make headway against the pressure of capitalism with its organised syndicates.

But the current of political life was at that time too turbulent, and the Russian worker was too hopelessly enslaved. Hence the early trade unions were only able to enrol a small number of workers drawn from the best-informed and most fully-awakened circles.

Nevertheless, these trade unions were centres of organisation, and their voice found an echo among the toiling masses. The latter, though they did not actually join the unions, gathered round the unions as centres of organisation, above all whenever the economic struggle entered an acute phase. The reaction of 1908 to 1910 brought up new problems for solution, and among them the need for defending the economic victories gained in 1905. Indeed, it became necessary to defend the very existence of the organisations.

Obviously there could be no question of any systematic development of trade unionism in the atmosphere of ceaseless repression which then prevailed.

Early Character of Trade Unions.

The trade unions were purely local in character, and as a rule the organisations lacked homogeneity of form. In most cases each union represented a single craft, although there were already attempts at organisation by industry. This was seen above all among the better educated workers, in the formation of the metal workers' union, the typographers' union, and so on. But even in the minds of the organisers, there was not as yet any very definite idea of trade union structure. For instance, in one phase of trade union organisation, a union primarily aiming at the organisation of all the workers of a single craft would admit members of other crafts engaged in a different industry. The metal workers' union would not merely enrol all the workers in the metallurgical industry, but would also enrol metal workers employed in other branches of industry.

At this period, the principle of trade union dues was equally vague. Three different methods were employed in the various trade unions. Some had a flat rate for all members; some took a percentage of the wages; and some had different dues for different classes of workers.

The conditions of the economic struggle made it indispensable that the trade unions should form district and national industrial federations. This was further requisite for the solution of various problems of internal organisation. The first and the second trade union conferences were magnificent attempts in this direction, but the terrible repressive measures instituted by the Tsarist Government sufficed, not merely to prevent the attempted massing of trade union forces, but were able practically to stifle the movement.

The conditions under which the trade unions that had been formed between 1911 and 1914 carried on a vegetative existence, were little better. Their short life was filled with troubles and alarms. Arrests of the organisers, police raids, forced dissolution of trade union, followed one another in relentless succession. But despite this intolerable persecution, the trade unions made the best of the minimal possibilities of legitimate existence then open to them, and, in addition, many of them remained alive on a semi-legitimate or even on a quite illegal footing.

When the Revolution came in March, 1917, no more than a dozen or so of the unions were still carrying on a precarious existence in a few Russian towns, and their membership was insignificant.

But even before the street fighting had come to an end, new trade unions sprang up everywhere. The factory workers were the first to organise. Sometimes one of the old unions formed the nucleus of a new organisation, but in most cases the new unions sprang up spontaneously, so that within a few days a trade union would enrol the workers by thousands and tens of thousands.

"The metal workers of Moscow began to organise their union within a day or two after the outbreak of the Revolution. The first enrolments took place in the modest dwelling of one of the oldest metal workers. Soon afterwards, on March 29th, an inaugural meeting was held and an organising committee was elected. At this time there were already 16,423 members in the union." Such is the description of the origin of the Moscow metal workers' union given by V. Polonski, sometime secretary, in the fifth issue of *The Moscow Metalworker*, November 15th, 1917. With slight changes of detail, the simple history of most of the great Russian trade unions formed during the March Revolution may be described in similar terms.

A Fever for Organisation.

The period was characterised by a perfect fever for organisation and by a rapid growth of trade unions.

From the first days of their existence, the trade unions were compelled to take over the leadership of the economic struggle, and they had to settle the innumerable conflicts between the workers and their employers. Thus their organisation was a speedy growth such as is necessary in time of war. The labour bureau for registering the unemployed, the strike committees, and the wage committees, were originated and improved while the work of organisation was actually going on. Workers' committees were spontaneously formed in the factories and workshops. In such conditions there could be no question of harmony or of solidarity of structure, and still less could there be any question of discipline. It was nothing but the first rough sketch of a movement, a spontaneous movement, lacking cohesion, plan or guidance.

From the point of view of organisation, there was the same confusion that had prevailed in the earlier periods, the same confusion between craft unionism and industrial unionism, although there was now apparent a deliberate trend towards organisation by industry.

The various Trade Union branches were linked up by central bureaux, which were little more than intelligence departments, though they served to co-ordinate the activities of the chief unions in the political field. The central bureaux of the various Trade Unions were elected in very different ways (equal representation of branches, independent of the number of their members, representation on the principle of inverse progression, etc.), and they had no regular budget. Their funds were supplied by chance methods, chiefly by subsidies, donations, and collections (the Moscow bureau was subsidised by the Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' deputies). The members' dues could hardly be said to exist, for they were most irregularly paid and were assessed at an insignificant figure.

The principal functions of the bureaux should have been as follows: to carry out instructions, to study the economic situation, to organise new branches, etc. But these functions were largely taken over by other bodies, for instance, by local Soviets, which in addition, acted as strike leaders, as arbiters in industrial disputes, and so on.

It was impossible that these miscellaneous organisations should further the growth of a clear understanding of the type of organisation really requisite. Still less were they likely to contribute to the harmony and stability of the Trade Unions. Not until June, were permanent relationships gradually established between trade unions belonging to the same industry; not until then, were district conferences organised.

Where local or national organisations were lacking, the trade unions of Petrograd, Moscow, and other great industrial centres, assumed guidance of the movement, iniating the provincial district into trade union principles, and consolidating the ties between the periphery and the centre: by enquiries, correspondence, and occasionally by the sending of representatives.

Rapid Growth and Weakness.

The third Trade Union Conference, held in July, afforded a striking picture of the growth of the trade union movement, which was represented by 967 trade union branches and 51 bureaux, and a total organised membership of 1,475,429.

But these swelling figures, while proving the rapid growth of the Trade Union movement, indicated likewise the weakness of its constitution, for the trade unions, enrolling so vast a membership within three months, would certainly not have had time to create satisfactory types of organisation.

The number of workers represented was estimated, not by the dues actually paid, but by the number of names inscribed.

It was not until the first Trade Union Congress, that a sounder principle was accepted. At this Congress, those only were recognised as members who had actually paid their dues.

The third Conference had an overwhelming agenda, and was not competent to deal with it effectively. The delegates had had no more than three months' experience of trade union life, during a time of fierce political struggle, and during a time when sectional strikes had been rife. For as yet there was no regular interconnection between the trade union branches. In the labour movement, at this epoch, there were two leading trends, that of the dominant majority composed of Mensheviks and Essers [social revolutionaries] on the one hand, and that of the Bolsheviks, already a vigorous opposition, on the other. The struggle between these two factions thrust into the background a number of economic questions of the first importance. The third Conference was the first indication that the proletariat was becoming disgusted with the policy of the opportunists and the petty-bourgeois Socialists. In the Soviets, at this time, the "coalition" Socialists held a majority, and at the Soviet Congress, the Bolshevik delegates were hardly one-fifth of the whole. But at the third Trade Union Conference, there was an unstable balance between the parties. The resolutions passed at the Conference, and the composition of the provisional central council of the trade unions, reflected the uncertainty of the majority. The abstract character of the principles advanced in the resolutions bore witness to the inexperience of the movement and to its ignorance of practical details.

Without concerning ourselves for the moment with differences within the Trade Union movement anent fundamental problems relating to the class conflict, I may say that the third Conference did good service in two ways. It established the first general Trade Union centre; and it established the principle of industrial federations.

The principle of Trade Union concentration had been already suggested in a confused, vacillating, and quasi-negative manner, by the second Conference. At this Conference, held in the year

(*Continued Overleaf.*)

1906, the following recommendation was passed: "The Conference recommends that in organising Trade Unions, the movement should not be broken up into little branches." But this principle of concentration had never been clearly formulated before the third Conference, which had before its eyes the example of powerful federations amalgamating trade union branches by tens and hundreds (the metalworkers, the textile-workers). A resolution passed by the third Conference ran as follows: "The workers should not organise by craft; they should organise in such a fashion that the union will consist of all the workers in a given industry, even though these workers are engaged in different crafts." We were still a long way from a clear and precise definition of a union based on the principle of production, but it was one of the great merits of the third Conference, that it did actually recognise this new principle of organisation.

But the unions were not in a position to undertake a reorganisation in accordance with the principle of production until after the November revolution. By this revolution they were at length enabled to satisfy their chief demands through the instrumentality of the proletarian Soviet Government, thus avoiding the need for incessant strikes and for eternal struggles with the capitalists. The central bureaux now assumed a more finished and homogeneous structure. Ceasing to be mere centres of information, they became the guides of the trade union movement in practical life. That they might fulfil this function, it was essential that the principle of organisation by industry should be more clearly formulated, and that the federations of trade unions should have a prestige that would enable them to solve with perfect impartiality the problems of trade union delination, and would empower them to overcome the craft prejudices of the various groups of workers.

Organisation by Industry.

At length, the first All-Russian Trade Union Congress clearly formulated the principle of organisation by industry, and was the first in a series of Trade Union Congresses. The unification of the Trade Union movement was now well under way.

The progress of this organising work, the achievement of a fusion of petty trade unions and trade union branches into powerful industrial federations, the realisation of the ideal of labour organisation by the union of all the employees of an industry into a single union, with its obverse that there should be no more than one union in a given industry—these advances were gravely compromised by a two-fold antagonism, the antagonism between the manual workers and the clerical and technical staff in the factories and workshops, on the one hand, and beween the higher grade and lower grade employees in the Civil Service, on the other. These antagonisms could only have been destroyed by a prolonged education of the masses, and by the breaking down of the economic barrier whereby the higher grade Civil Servants were given a privileged position as compared with the lower grade Civil Servants and the remainder of the proletarian family.

After the November Revolution, which abolished grades, decorations, and various other distinctions, whereby higher grade State employees had been granted a privileged position, and which established a Republican régime in the factories, so that the workers secured self-government in industry, the objective factors of the before-mentioned antagonisms were done away with. Under the new proletarian government, the social position of the manual workers became practically identical with that of the clerical and technical staffs, thus creating an atmosphere favourable to the common task.

Process of Unification.

Nevertheless, the policy of sabotage instituted by the higher employees of the Soviet Government, delayed the process of unification for a considerable period, and indeed until the middle of the year 1918. It was not until the trouble with sabotage was at an end, and until antagonism between the two grades had died down, that it became possible to realise in full the principle of labour organisation by industry.

But besides creating these essential conditions, the November Revolution furnished many other stimuli to the development of the trade union movement, favouring concentration and furthering the formation of national federations. Among the most potent of these stimuli were the following: the establishment of a scale of wages by the State; the regulation of working conditions; the stabilisation and intelligent guidance of production. The assumption of these functions by the central organism and their carrying out in detail by the local organisations, made it incumbent upon the various trade unions and trade union branches, weak in isolation, to amalgamate and to become nationally centralised.

On the other hand, the Soviet Government accorded to the trade union Soviets [erstwhile "central bureaux" of the trade unions] recognition as representatives of the proletariat economically organised. It summoned these Soviets to share in the solution of all the problems relating to the regulation of working conditions (the maintenance of the unemployed, public assistance, the fixing and revision of wage scales, etc.), Consequently, the prestige and power of the trade union Soviets was considerably enhanced, and the unions were led to devote their attention and to concentrate their efforts upon the perfectionment of their administrative and financial apparatus as well as upon the soundness of trade union structure.

Western Capitalists Against Russian Workers.

But in the tempestuous atmosphere of the class struggle, which now assumed the form of an unintermitting civil war with the owners and the capitalists (who were supported by the Imperialists of Western Europe), a civil war in which the trade unions played an extremely active part, the development of the trade union Soviets went on, for the most part, independently of the central organisation. The attention of the latter was concentrated upon the national unions and upon arranging at long intervals to supervise local propaganda. For these reasons, the resolutions relating to organisation drafted at the third Conference, like the resolutions at the first Trade Union Congress, make no more than the most superficial reference to the trade union Soviets. The principle of the structure of the trade union Soviets was decided by the second Trade Union Congress, held in January, 1919. The first Congress had indeed directed the local trade union Soviets "to do their utmost to bring about the fusion of kindred trade union organisations into a s ingle industrial union." This recommendation implied an enlargement of the rights and functions of the trade union Soviets, and it assigned to them a rôle as local organs for the guidance of the trade union movement.

THE SIMPLE WAY.

By C. B. WARWICK.

A REVIEW AND AN APPRECIATION OF "THE REVOLUTION TO-MORROW."

We are fed up with the present system. We know the reason why. Some other people consider it the best of all possible systems. *They* know the reason why. So do we! We glare at them; they snigger at us. They say we are avaricious. So we are. We want to get where they are because they've got there by robbing us; all they have has been pinched off us. It isn't a laughing matter—not that their sniggers hurt us at all. I mean "*our class*" when I talk of "*us.*" *We* are the *working class*, that is when we can discover any work to do; that is to say, when we can capture a boss who will *do* us; when we are not the working class, we are the *starving class*. And it's not very comfortable being either nowadays. Obviously the other class can only be put into the creepy-crawly order of things that pinch other people's blood. Obviously, they love the system more than they love us, and we hate the whole rotten scheme of things. What else? I'm coming to the point.

Yes, we don't mind their sniggers. No! What us (you and I and the Dubb who'll never read this, though I'm telling it for his benefit as well as ours) is the fact that so many in our class never take the trouble to *think* why the system *is*, *whose* the System is, and all that's wrong with it, etcetera ("and some," to be Motleresque)!

Now, look here, I put it to you, don't you think there's too many dead people walking about? Not really dead, of course; shallow breathing autometers, to be correct. Well, they want life, vitality, vim, force—any of these sparks from the great Sun, Communism, driven into them. But to merely give Communism isn't sufficient, and to give it them *anyhow* is also unbusinesslike. We must give them propaganda stimulants by way of speech and pamphlet before most of them will be sufficiently "on the run" to "go" into the deeper channels and look into the Sun itself. Our discontented-discontent-spreading soap-box orators are the goods, but they need to be helped everywhere and all the time by their fellow-workers, who can push penny pamphlets for twopence. If, again, the pamphleteer's wares are of the wrong type, he is muchly handicapped, and so is the Cause, for little can one help to "fix" the discontent-enlightenment germs instilled by the orator on the box. Let's go into it.

Now we have amongst us one who can't hear as we, but can *see* farther than many of us. And he hath communicated with us, and we likewise know enlightenment. I refer to Comrade Leonard Motler, otherwise known as Joe. Now, Joe says a thing must be *attractive*, and *impelling*, and to be so it must "strike" at the desired object—Henry Dubb, in this case—in order to compel *attention*, in order to aid subsequent stimulation, discontent, and enlightenment. Now for years Joe has been saying this, and all his numerous written contributions (I don't worry that he has no speech with us, for he "speaks" in a way that all who hear, know, understand, and carry forward his suggestions)—for years, aye, and many a time has he been laughed at for being so "simple." In fact, Comrades, he writes so simply that anybody can understand what he is getting at. And isn't that the sort of stuff we want to give the fellow-workers in the dark? Sure. Simplicity isn't useful alone, but when the simple way expresses the vital facts of the matter, that's all that's required. Joe believes in the man-to-man tactic (it should almost be a *principle* in working-class propaganda), hence his well-known "Between Ourselves." The literature doled out to the propagandist often without the slightest recognition of the sort of stuff he needs is mountains high in the whole Socialist movement in this country above that really effective because attractive or simple. Of course, Joe would rather see all pamphlets, books, and papers printed artistically, and so on, but we have got to compromise a bit, not being on friendly terms with contributors to the Amalgamated Press and their cousins. So the aim is to write simply and have the matter bound in coloured covers, or covers with a striking design, like the ape in a back number of the "Dreadnought," which is seen remarking, whilst looking on the bloody shambles of the Great War: "Thank God, Evolution missed me!"

We've too much scientific and academic stuff, Comrades. Such are fine for further stimulation, fine for the student new to the movement, but, for slow-thinking toiler, who ofttimes seems to have no time to think at all, what is needed is an abundance of literature done in the simple way. Apart from articles, Comrade Motler has already given us a good idea of the thing, and a good leg-up the wall, so to speak. We have all read his "Soviets for the British," and distributed many more. Good. It's an excellent article, simple, expressive, concise. Let us push it. Another thing in the same line is his latest, "The Revolution To-Morrow," in neat red covers. The sub-title is well introductory: "If the Revolution came to-morrow, what would *you* do? The ideas set out here are an attempt to give a worker's point of view. That's it, a worker tells a worker in language no worker can fail to understand. The workers alone can bring about the sort of revolution that shall smash up the system in the workers' interests, and the workers, to safeguard themselves, must prepare *now* to organise in such a way, where they work, that when they *take control*, they will understand sufficient and be prepared sufficient to defend the Revolution, and lead to success: Communism. That is what Motler points out. The strong thing all through the little work is that only the workers should trust the workers, and he says: "*The workers must learn to bear the whole brunt of running their own revolution and running their own country.*" Page 6 points out the result, as in the Paris Commune 1871, when the workers, having won through to Freedom, started leaving things to others; so the pamphlet goes on:

"They must learn to mind their own business. They will not make many more mistakes than if they let some rogue run it for them. And the time to learn is now, and the place to learn is in the workshop."

And let me conclude, it's up to everyone of us, Comrades, to see that our fellows' apathy and ignorance falls away in front of the Red Dawn, for without their intelligent aid no revolution of the slightest working-class use can come to be. The proletaire is dull and mind-hungry, give them *simple* pie. They will relish it more, 'twill be digestible; healthier thinkers will arise. They will rebel. The Revolution will succeed!

ZINOVIEV ON SOVIETS.

Zinoviev, the president of the Third International, in a thesis on Soviets, has pointed out the danger in too premature organisation of these very potent instruments of the working class. He showed, for instance, how the Soviets that were organised during the German revolution were subverted to the interest of Scheidemann, Noske and Co. He tells us to observe also how the Soviets in Petrograd, before the period when the workers of Russia took a decisive stand against the Constituent Assembly, were very often misled by Kerensky's followers and other reactionary factions.

When the idea of the Soviets became popular in this country there were widespread efforts to organise local councils. Because there was no need for them they withered away one after another. The organisation of Soviets must be preceded by certain definite conditions or they amount to less than nothing. There must be a period of national turmoil, with a spirit of revolutionary aggressiveness developed on the part of the working class, before Soviets can be effectively organised.

A LETTER ON TRADE UNIONS.

By M. P. Black.

Since the Russian Revolution the popularity of the Soviets or Workers' Councils has become universal. We have seen in the last German and Hungarian Revolutions as well as in the recent Italian uprisings that these councils of workmen played a prominent role. In England the Shop Stewards' movement and in Scotland the Scottish Workers' Committees have been constantly developing. Due to the similarity of industrial conditions there is no doubt that this country too will, before long, witness the birth of this movement.

Trade Unions and Shop Committees.

What relation then will the Trade Unions bear to the Shop Committees? Will the Shop Committees displace the Unions? To answer these questions definitely would be mere prophecy. But by tracing the origin and development of both, and, by observing what conditions have obtained in countries where examples are more complete, some light can be thrown on their logical course.

So far, the Trade Union movement has shown itself to be an organisation for the protection of the daily interests of those portions of the working class, which, being related by craft, have banded themselves together. The mission of the Trade Unions is to increase the pay, shorten the hours, and to better the conditions of the working class.

Because of the failure of the Trade Union movement to adapt itself to the changing conditions of industrial development, and its failure to disern the sharp contrasts and the irreconcilability of class interests, it has allowed itself to be dominated by a traitorous and pernicious labour bureaucracy. Such reactionary leadership has tended to nullify the true purpose of the movement.

While Trade Unionism flourishes mostly in times of comparative peace between capital and labour, Shop Committees have their birth and thrive best in moments of greatest crisis. When Capitalist oppression and "sabotage" is at its height, when the working masses are faring worst, then it is that the workers, not along craft lines, but along industrial lines, voluntarily organise into Shop Committees.

Purposes of the Shop Committees.

Is it then that the Shop Committees will be merely a new form of organisation striving for the same thing the Trade Unions presume to offer? No. The mission of the shop committees is more than that.

The disintegration of Capitalism, resulting from the inherent contradictions within it, and hastened by the late war, has caused the capitalists to attempt, more strenuously than ever before, a new lease on life. Already in this country the owners of industry are adopting more and more the methods by capitalism in Europe. They seem to find it more profitable to close down production to force acceptance of their terms on the working class, than to continue producing at a loss. They lay off their help and rehire them more cheaply. They fail to invest their capital at the time when prices are highest. This is Capitalist "sabotage."

All this, the Trade Unions, due to their reactionary leadership and their inefficient organisation, are unable to meet. The workers must give resistance to these new and more vigorous class attacks. Since their struggles must be directed against the employers, they find themselves voluntarily organising in their particular shops, regardless of political opinion, craft or nationality.

The owners are more economically fit to endure a long drawn out strike of the folded arm than the workers. The slaves are driven to desperation. There is only one thing to do—control the factories. But in doing this they meet the powerful opposition of the State. They are set face to face with armed authority. Then comes the political struggle. The Shop Committees are forced into open opposition to the Bourgeois State.

From this we see that the mission of the Shop Committees is workers' control of industry. At the crucial moment they are changed from mere industrial Shop Committees to a political rallying point in the struggle for power.

Will the Trade Unions Die?

Either the reactionaries will retain control of the Trade Unions, in which case they will be a bulwark of capitalism, or, the bureaucracy will be displaced by a militant leadership, in which case the Trade Unions will perform a revolutionary function. Since the Trade Unions are, essentially, a working class organisation, the latter is more probable.

We see that the Trade Unions are still thriving in Russia. They served a revolutionary purpose during the conflict. And now with these very Shop Committees or Soviets established as the organs of State power, the Trade Unions in Russia, now established on a more industrial basis, are aiding and supplementing the Soviets in industrial reconstruction.

NOW READY.

THE REVOLUTION TO-MORROW.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from L. A. Motler, 47, Crowndale Road, London, N.W.1, and from the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

Price 2d. Post free 3d.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "COMMUNIST."

Unofficial Reform Committee.

The policy of the South Wales Miners' Federation during the past has to a very large extent been determined or rather influenced through the activities of the above organisation. In preceding years, it had mapped out a very advanced and constructive programme, which resulted in what was known as the famous "Miners' Next Step." The machinery of the "Unofficial" is now to be completely overhauled, and a new programme drawn up, with the object of getting one united policy on a particular issue launched at the Conferences, instead of as in the past—one lodge directly opposed to another, and in so doing ultimately strengthening the organisation, which is very essential at the present time. We wish every success to our Comrades, who are the pioneers of such an organisation, and it is to be hoped that "Unofficial Reform Committees" will be established all over the coalfield.

Unofficial Secrets Act.

The topic of the hour among the advanced section in the Valley is that of the above, and the discussion which is now going on will, we trust, enlighten some of our so-called "Moderates" to the dangers that lurk in the operation of such an Act, which means the complete negation of Freedom. Is it not time, Comrades, that the Labour Movement awoke from its slumbers, and realised the gravity of the situation? Are we advancing, or are we getting plunged back into chattel slavery? Where is the Council of Action? Are the members all afraid of making a stand with practically all the forces of Labour at their backs? And where are the "Gingerites?"—those beloved friends of Hartshorn.

I.L.P. Information Department.

An organisation that is doing exceptionally constructive work at the present time is that of the above. As Communists, we wish to draw the attention of our comrades to the very able pamphlets, namely "The Capitalist Press" and "Who Pays for the Attacks on Labour?" We recommend these pamphlets to all, as it exposes in a very fine manner those persons who own and control the Press, and the organisations such as the "British Empire Union" and "People's League"—blackleg organisations who openly boast of the help given during the late Railwaymen's strike and during the strike of the Electricians. It is up to us as Communists to place the above pamphlets in the hands of the workers, which we trust will quickly materialise into a realization of the immensity of Capitalist propaganda.

Amalgamation.

Remarkable events have, during the past week, taken place among shop-workers, who, at a conference held at Deansgate Hall, Manchester, on 15th and 15th November, successfully concluded an amalgamation, the Unions being the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees and Allied Workers and the Amalgamated Union of Warehouse Workers, which now constitutes about 240,000 of a membership, and will be called the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. The amalgamation becomes operative on January 1st, 1921. As Trade Unionists, we welcome such an event, which is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, as the amalgamation comprises eight small unions in all. We are still incomplete, and we are patiently awaiting for the Shop Assistants' Union to come in, as this is our one stumbling-block. We need unity to-day, Comrades, and the only way to achieve it is by having one Union for all shop workers. As far as one is able to ascertain, the officials of the Shop Assistants' Union are adamant in the matter, and we trust that when their next conference meets, the rank and file will compel their officials to fall in. As fellow workers, we appeal to the above for their whole-hearted support in bringing to maturity the formation of one Union. Unity is essential at this juncture, Comrades, *and we must have it*. Let us get a move on.

GROWTH OF CO-OP. MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

That the people of India are anxious, despite the repressive methods of the British government, to ameliorate the condition of the masses, will be evident from the growth of the co-operative movement in India.

In the Bombay Presidency of 1917 there were seventy such societies with the capital of £10,000; in 1909, 209 societies with a capital of about £50,000; in 1916, 992 societies with the capital of £750,000; and in 1919 there were 2,083 societies with the capital of £1,250,000.

In the Madras Presidency in 1905 there were only twenty-seven societies with 2,733 members and £7,000 in capital; in 1914-15 there were 1,445 societies, 90,088 members, and £450,000 in capital.

In 1914-15 there were all over India sixteen thousand co-operative societies, with 761,935 members with a share capital of £1,000,000. Deposits from members amounted to about £700,000. During this year loans were issued to 2,613,994 members and other societies.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

It is coming round once again, Henry. We are going to have a *real* Christmas this time. All the advertisements, with nice pictures of your table loaded with what you aren't likely to get, tell us the plain blunt truth. We are in for it, Henry.

It is coming around the corner, and so out with aunt Martha's photo, and that old Toby jug of Uncle Fitzarthur's. Dish up that bundle of music, which the modern jazz sent to the bath amongst the coal. Lift up your voice and thrum the wild banjo!

Ho, for a Christmas of the old-fashioned sort. The pre-war variety, with plenty of everything—if you had the money. What cheer, it is coming round again.

I can see the signs of it. And it is not only to be a real bumper Christmas, but an extra-super-barrelled Christmas. It is to be a Christmas of Peace and Plenty—and let the London *Star* of the 1st of December, this year of Peace and Plenty, speak for itself. If I handed you the glad tidings of great joy, Henry, you might be tempted to disbelieve me.

> "There is now general agreement among employers THAT ADVANTAGE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LABOUR MARKET to bring down wages wherever possible, and it is understood that steps in this direction have already been taken in other trades besides those in the shipbuilding industry affected by the strike which begins to-day.
>
> "In particular employers express a desire to secure revision of wage rates that were unusually inflated owing to war-time conditions; and side by side with the DEMAND OF THE WORKERS FOR HIGHER WAGES IN SOME INDUSTRIES, THERE IS THE SPECTACLE OF EMPLOYERS SERVING NOTICES OF REDUCTION."

You observe the idea, Henry. Prices of foods and clothes go up, so, in order to meet these high prices, the workers demand more wages. Now they are being met with notices of reduction of wages instead.

The employers are "taking advantage of the present state of the labour market," and so they can afford to allow any strike to happen. There are more than enough unemployed to go round, and so wages will come down in a few months, without any hope of prices falling as well. But take notice that AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO PROSPECT OF HIGH PRICES COMING DOWN THE EMPLOYERS ARE ACTING IN SOLIDARITY TO LOWER WAGES. And they are doing it because of the state of the labour market.

Unemployment makes more unemployment. And, in a way, this can be explained in the words of the old hymn you learnt at your Aunt Martha's knees—

> "We've got no work to do,
> We've got no work to do;
> Just because we've been working a damsight too hard,
> We've got no work to do-oo-oo."

That is to be getting on with. But the real cause of unemployment is simply the way things are run. This is what is called capitalism, but, of course, it will all be tripe to you by now.

The question will strike you like this. Here we have been told for years that the cause of all our troubles is this here Capitalism. But what we should like to know is, how are you going to go about it?

There are some good people who will shout triumphantly at you "Suvviets!" But you will be in the same old back seat as before. What you want is a front seat to see how it is done. And perhaps the Communist Party will see that you get the news.

In the meantime you will have noticed the goings on of those now unemployed. They have been taking over free libraries, baths, and other public places. As one notice says—

> "The unemployed are in possession and mean to stick it. If it was good to fight in 1914, why now now? We are sick of Lloyd George's promises. Actions speak louder than words."

The unemployed have become tired of meetings held in the open air. They are not able to go to Nice or Cannes, or even to Sheppard's Hotel, Cairo. So they are not only demanding shelter, they are taking it, like wise little boys who have been taught at school that "Heaven helps those who help themselves."

Observe that the unemployed have been round to Lloyd George, who has not only handed them some soft soap, but has now put up a barricade in case the unemployed come back to complain of the soap's quality.

Well, the unemployed are now beginning to find out that they can run their own business better than Lloydie—or any other Captain Brassbound—can do. They are beginning to see that they won't get work by praying for it.

Very soon they will want to know why a Government that could find £5,000,000 a day to carry on a four-years war, cannot find twice that sum to keep the men that won the war. They will want to know why a Government that paid £1,000 to kill each German, cannot find half that sum to keep a British subject alive.

And then—with the help of the Communist Party, no doubt—they will find the real remedy.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

The Cardiff Conference.

The vote for recommending the acceptance of the Statutes and Theses of the Communist International resulted in a decisive vote of fifteen to three.

It was made abundantly clear in the argument that this vote did not mean that this party had in the slightest degree changed its views on the advisability of Revolutionary Parliamentarism for Britain. I am quite prepared to believe that such a tactic *might* be very useful for Bulgarians, for Greeks, for Russians, for Persians, or for Poles—we do not know the conditions in those relatively illiterate countries well enough to judge—but I am quite certain that for Britain, for Germany, for Belgium, for France, in a word, for Western countries, revolutionary parliamentarism would be a ghastly blunder as a Communist tactic. I am convinced that in accordance with the thesis, those special conditions actually do exist for Britain that make it imperative that one of the alternative tactics of they boycott, abstentionism, or non-parliamentarism, should be adopted by the United British Party. I understand our Scottish comrades are of the same mind, and also our friends in the Rhondda. I am convinced, too, that the rank and file of the revolutionary workmen up and down the country are of the same mind, too, and once they have overcome their prejudice against any "party" whatever, have realised the need for a strong party to carry on the class fight on all fields, that they will swing in with us and throw a decisive weight on the side of sanity and against reformist or career-seeking elements.

Perhaps the decisive factor that influenced the vote was the idea of loyalty to the world revolution. Comrade Leslie's speech, wherein he pictured the amazement of the Russian Workers who had been fighting and shedding their blood in the defence of the world revolution, at their British comrades academically splitting hairs over dialectical discussions on Parliamentarism, instead of rushing with all power to their aid by building up similarly strong fighting class organisations,—this speech put the finishing touch on any waverers present, and every vote, with the exception of those definitely mandated ones, with strict instructions to vote against acceptance, went for a united party.

Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

We are now assured of a strong Communist platform for next Sunday's demonstration at the Square to protest against the arrests of our Comrades Steele and Harvey, Pankhurst and Malone, and I am looking forward to the finest Communist demonstration of the year. All comrades should rally to the support of the right of freedom of Communist propaganda, and against the Czarist methods of Whitehall.

Finance.

The party had to strain its resources to carry through the Cardiff Conference successfully. There are still considerable outstanding liabilities in connection therewith, and branches who did not send a delegate are asked to make a special donation towards defraying these charges. Our special thanks are due to our comrades of the Cardiff Branch of the Communist Party of Great Britain for their comradely co-operation and aid in the matter of hospitality.

COMMUNIST PARTY
(Bow & Poplar Branches).

A DANCE

In aid of the "DREADNOUGHT" FUND will be held at
CROWN HALL (40, Redman's Road, Mile End),
on
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18th, 1920.
Doors open at 6 p.m. Dancing from 6.30—12.

Tickets, 1s. 6d. each can be obtained from the "Workers' Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4; and from the Branch Secretaries.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence. Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 6, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

BRANCH NOTES.

Manchester Central.

This group of 135 members have now definitely applied for membership of our Party by a unanimous vote. The group has carried on independent Communist propaganda in Manchester for some considerable period, and their adhesion will considerably strengthen our already powerful position in this part of the country. There is also every prospect of the speedy formation of a group of live young rebels at Farnworth, near Bolton; also in the Lancashire area.

UNITED COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION.

will be held in

TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

On SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12th, 2.15 p.m. till 3.50 p.m. (sunset).

Strong platform of Communist speakers of all parties.

The Demonstration is for the purpose of PROTESTING against the FREQUENT ARRESTS of COMMUNISTS engaged on propaganda work, and to insist on THE RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH FOR COMMUNISTS.

Collection in aid of the DEFENCE and MAINTENANCE COMMITTEE.

Provisional Acting Secretary,
EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,
8, Sinclair Gardens,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14.

Gorton.

This group has increased considerably in the last two months, and is now giving special attention to the question of a proletarian Sunday school. Branch members have now established this, and the work of freeing the young from the mental fetters imposed by the class education in the schools of the bourgeois government is proceeding apace. Other strong branches would do well to follow this example. All information and assistance in forming a school will be given by Comrade T. Islwyn Nicholas, Exchange Dental Surgeries, Herbert St., Pontardawe, South Wales. Comrade Nicholas is the General Secretary of the International Proletarian School Movement.

The Social General Strike, by J. Tanner	2d.	1/6
Russia and the Allies, by F. Seymour Cocks	3d.	2/3
The Aims of the Bolsheviki, by B. Shumiatzki	2d.	1/6
Maxim Litvinoff on Soviet Russia ...	1d.	9d
An Open Letter to Lenin. From the Finnish Communist Party	1d.	9d
Allied Agents in Soviet Russia ...	1d.	9d
British Troops in the Caucasus ...	1d.	6d
A Sketch of the Russian Trade Union Movement	1d.	9d
Social Reconstruction in Russia (Child Welfare)	½d.	4½d
Lenin's Views on the Revolution ...	½d.	4½d
Liberal America and Soviet Russia ...	½d.	4½d
How a City Soviet is Elected in Russia	½d.	4½d
Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by Lenin ...	2d.	1/6
Soviets or Parliament, by Bukharin ...	1d.	9d
Hands Off Russia, by Israel Zangwill ...	2d.	1/6

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.
Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.
Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.
Saturdays, at Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at 7.30.
Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

Hammersmith.
The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.
Manor Park Road, Fridays.

Birmingham.
Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Barking.
Near Barking Station. Sundays, at 6.30 p.m. Communist speakers.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.
58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.
400, Old Ford Road. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poplar.
20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.
16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

Hull.
Argyle House, Anlaby Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.
Branch meetings held Fridays, at 8 p.m., at 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush, W.

Barking.
Thursdays, at 8 p.m. At "Glenhurst," Ripple Road, Barking, E.

Stepney.
Branch meetings held Thursdays, at 8 p.m., at the I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.
Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.
Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.
Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.
Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

American Communist, 12s. 6d.; South Shields Comrades, 3s.; George Aird, 30s.; Bow Comrades, 15s.

Communist Defence and Maintenance Fund.

H.J.H., 10s.; "A Rebel," 2s. 6d.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

RUSSIAN CLASS (in Olive Beamish's Office), 98, Bishopsgate, on Fridays, 7—8 p.m. For terms apply Mrs. BOUVIER, 82, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.

GRAMOPHONES FOR SALE, splendid Xmas presents; first-class quality; new; good Records.—Apply, *Workers' Dreadnought* Office.

EVERYONE interested in the question of ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM should read "THE FINNISH REVOLUTION," by O. V. Kuusinen, post free 3½d., and an "OPEN LETTER TO LENIN," post free 1½d. To be obtained from the Literature Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E. 3.

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